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quoted in its entirety: /see the foreign text for the passage quoted in Portuguese/.

Something had to /306/ push them toward the west and determine the choice of their itinerary: the mirage which was attracting them was the one which was to cost the lives of so many Spaniards later on. It is a matter of the "great tidings" of this mysterious country abounding in riches, located beyond the forests toward the setting sun, and which the Tupinamba certainly likened and then merged with the "Land without affliction" about which the old myths told.

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In the same period an analogous tendency to identify the country of the Inca with the one where the culture hero lived can be noted among the Guarani of Paraguay.

There is a very interesting, but seldom cited text which shows very well how the Guarani pictured the Inca Empire at the beginning of the 16th century. By comparing it to what we know of the myths of these same Indians, we shall be able to draw many a curious parallel, and I hope by this means to demonstrate that the Guarani believed they saw in the Inca their culture hero, Candire.

The document in question is found in the Relaciones geográficas de Indias (Vol. II, pp. LXXXIII-LXXXVII), where it comes under the following title: Relación general que se tomó en pública forma y se envió autorizada al virrey en la provincia de los Xarayes, que es en 17 grados sobre el rio Paraguay, 250 (leguas) de la Asumpcion, donde habia llegado el general Nuflo de Chaves con 150 hombres, con órden é intento de poblar en ella, y despues, por la relación que tomó paso adelante /General account which was put in published form and, authorized, was sent to the viceroy in the province of the Xaraye, which, at 17 degrees, is above the Paraguay River, 250 (leagues) from Asunción, where General Nuflo /Nufrio/ de Chaves arrived with 150 men, with orders and intent to colonize in it, and afterwards, by the account that he took further measures/.

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167 194 72 [484] those routes would already have closed up again with forest and grass ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

From time to time there were skirmishes with the Guaikurú, Samuko /Zamuco/, or Matako /Mataco/ Indians, but for the Guarani, who for a long time had been used to fighting the wild Indians of the Chaco, these combats did not take them by surprise. They contented themselves by attracting the least possible attention by avoiding setting fire to the bush or simply making too much smoke.

167 174 175 ● 129 None of the details I have just given is the fruit of my fancy. In order to describe these migrations it has been enough to recall the scenes I witnessed among the descendants of these ancient Guarani and to glean some facts from the chronicles or documents in which are recounted for us the crossings of the Chaco made by the Guarani before or during the Spanish conquest. Does anyone want some examples? I take them from the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and from the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala.

484 175 648 22 262 [127] /311/ This has to do with the entrada which Governor Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca made into the Chaco in search of a way to the country of the Chané. "The Guarani Indians whom the governor took along lived on what the Governor had them given out of the reserve provisions and on honey which they drew from the trees. They also procured some game for themselves by killing peccaries, tapirs, and deer, which seemed to be abundant in that land; nevertheless, since the band who came with him were numerous, they made noise and put the wild animals to flight, which made the hunting not very fruitful. Spaniards and Indians also ate the fruit of wild trees, of which there was a great quantity ... they took advantage likewise of the fruit of the palm trees which abound in this region. They do not eat dates, but are satisfied to break their pits. The inside [252] is round and like a sweet almond. The Indians make a flour of it, which is an excellent food; they also eat the palm cabbages, which are very good." (Hernández, p. 303.)

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/fn. 1 cont./ said chanes each pueblo had its name, although all were one race; asked how they came to speak guarany and where he knew the said garçia, he said that the reason he spoke goarany was that in times past, before garçia came from brasil /Brazil/ to the said guaranys, there was a great gathering of said guaranys in the port called ytatyn, in order to go to search for the metal, and that passing through their land at night they came upon their houses and killed many of them and took their women and children and brought them to the said port of ytatyn, and while they were slaves of the said goaranys in the said port, the said garçia passed through there, with whom he and two other brothers went in search of said metal with the said guaranys; asked if he went and traveled with the said Garçia until he returned, he said yes; asked how far the said garçia had gone and where he got the metal that he carried, he said that he had gone as far as the race that they call payçunos, and that the chanes and the said payçunos gave him the said metal and that he had returned from there because he learned that a race called çorocotoquis were having a great gathering against the said garçia and those who went with him, and he said that they returned to get more xrisptianos in order to return with them for the said metal ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

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This testimony and some other indications corroborate Gandía, who in this study gave evidence not only of vast erudition but also great sagacity. There is nevertheless one point on which I do not agree with him. The documents alluding to the migration of the Guarani all speak of it as a recent event whose details were

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/fn. 1 cont./ still present in everyone's memory. Even if we accept Garcilaso's version and make that event go back to the reign of Tupac Inca Yupanki, it is still no less certain that it could only have taken place in the last decades of the 15th century. It is indeed at this time, according to Balboa, that the emperor Tupac Inca Yupanki would have reigned. (See Nordenskiöld, 6). In this case the first Guarani migration would have preceded García's trip by about 50 years. Why then does Gandía, who himself gives us this figure, consider it more probable that this invasion took place more than a century before the Conquest? When I personally submitted to Mr. Gandía the reservations I had on the subject of the date he was assigning to the establishment of the Guaraní at the foot of the Andes, he answered that he had taken as a basis for this evaluation a passage from Lozano (Descripción chrorográfica...) and Mendiburn (Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú...). According to the latter the Inca Yupanki would have died in 1453. I shall reply to this objection by stating that the evidence of Lozano, who was satisfied to copy Garcilaso, has no value; and as for Mendiburn's calculation, I do not grant him any credence.

One single fact remains certain in this controversy: The Guarani had begun their migratory movement toward Peru some years before García's adventurous trip.

CG 175 167 [114]

/316/ establishing. Neither was Alejo García's expedition the determining cause of the great migration of which Díaz de Guzmán (p. 29) speaks thus:

"Following these events (García's trip) the Indians of the Province of Paraguay met together with their caciques and

/171 cont./

771 624 756 What is certain is that the frustration has not yet shaken their faith, and that is why the confidence that they place in the religious chief also continues to be strong. The second authority, the civil chief or capitão, has /172/ an active voice among the Mbüá only on subjects of secondary importance, particularly in what is said with respect to dealings with the civilized inhabitants. The ñanderú does not take cognizances of these matters; burdens of greater responsibility rest on his shoulders.

771 772 178 Among the factors making the myth of Paradise continue to be so alive in the spirit of the Mbüá is the outstanding fact of their having clung, in spite of frequent contacts with the civilized world, to the usages and customs of the ancestors and of not yet counting in their midst mestizo individuals. And these conditions for their part explain a decisive factor: that the different groups still constitute closed communities of worship, in which the quite superficial influence of the Christianity experienced in recent years has not succeeded in undermining, for the present, the constant realization of the conjunction of ceremonies bound up with the myth.

3. The Kayová

• 127 167 [178] From the existing bibliographic sources it is understood that formerly, that is, several decades ago, the Kayová also undertook migrations in the direction of the Atlantic coast. There are no indications in this respect for recent times.

771 772 648 183 [796] Although the representation of Paradise is always present as an aspiration or dream in the religious life of the Kayová, virtually at least, its importance increases considerably in crisis situations. This was verified a few years ago at least in the Mato Grosso village of Panambi, in the region of Dourados, when the Government had the lands of the Indians distributed among civilized colonists. As this project was being executed, the primitive conditions of life of the Indians began to be jeopardized and in part were even destroyed. Thus, the myth was activated, and the Indians started to perform religious dances with the objective of hastening the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Ashluslay were in the happy position of being able to derive advantages from the Whites without falling into irretrievable poverty.[1]

There is an interesting question as to what might be the long-run differences between tribes of the same or near-identical culture, when one has been rapidly acculturated and the other more slowly and less intensively. An hypothetically ideal situation would be one in which all factors, except the rapidity and intensity of exposure, were equal—the same culture in the two aboriginal groups, the same alien cultural influences playing upon them in the same way, and the same ultimate amount of influence. Even in such a situation, however, there probably would still be some final acculturational differences between the two groups. Though such a situation is ideal, this problem is not entirely hypothetical. The Cayuá (at least those of Brazil) are now subject to intense influences, comparable to those experienced by the Guarani to the south in the early contact period; on the other hand, the modern survivors of the more southerly Guarani peoples apparently are now less intensively subject to white influences than their northern cousins. If we were to find significant differences in the amount and quality of acculturation in these two groups, it would suggest that rate of acculturation—all other things equal—was partly responsible.

Cayuá culture itself is negligibly reported in the literature of ethnography to date. Although this study refers directly to a single Cayuá village, some of its implications would hold for other Cayuá groups and possibly for closely related groups of Tupi-Guarani. Despite the fact that in the 16th and 17th centuries certain Tupi-Guarani tribes were probably among the best and most extensively reported native peoples in the New World—particularly the Coastal tribes of Brazil—relatively little has since been done with living Tupi-Guarani peoples. We have little idea of aboriginal variations among these related tribes, or of the changes resulting from their contact with European culture. Many hints remain unelaborated and many questions still unsolved, even for the rather well known tribes of early European contact. Since the Coastal Tupi are no more, we can only turn to present surviving Tupi-Guarani peoples for some of our answers.

It is necessary to give some indication of the kind and amount of data available for this study before describing the way in which the material was used. (The specific sources are indicated later on, when references are first made to them.) Pertaining directly to the Cayuá, past or present, only the meagerest of literature exists, as far as the writer was able to ascertain. No single definitive monograph is known for any period of their culture history, only a few short articles, some so general as to be of little use. References to the Cayuá in the earliest chronicles of the discovery and exploration of eastern South America are infrequent. The reason is apparent since the Cayuá

[1] Cited in *Handbook of South American Indians*, 1946, 1: 212.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

were not in the immediate path of conquest and for a long time remained apart from all but the slightest of contact with the Europeans. Coming down to the time of the Jesuits, 1610–1768, fleeting references can be found here and there to peoples who may have been Cayuá or closely related to them. Thus, for the early period of colonization there is little information which deals directly with the Cayuá, though the conclusion is apparently justified that much material on closely related peoples applies also to the Cayuá with little modification. Several early writers imply such a point of view, and Rengger's journal in the early 19th century seems to reinforce the idea. This authority makes quite evident the similarity of Cayuá to other Guarani cultures—a similarity by no means obscured even today. The period of the turn of the last century brings us several more short accounts pertaining to the Cayuá, including two by reputable ethnologists, von Koenigswald and Ambrosetti.

In connection with the type of white contact the Cayuá experienced, the available history of the area again provides little that is direct. It is possible to get some idea of what kinds of white men were there, roughly their numbers, and something of their motives. But there is little documentation to establish the nature, place, and time of the contact of these whites with Cayuá. With significant and tantalizing gaps, of course, the general trend of contact can be drawn. However, in part it is necessary to use the present state of Cayuá culture as evidence of past contact; in other words, the nexus, often missing from the historical record, can sometimes be supplied from the present ethnography. The result is very sketchy at best.

The ethnography of this people today is our most important source of information. Besides a description of the present culture, at least those cultural aspects which were our primary concern in the field, modern data can be coupled with some of the more meager clues from older documents to yield reasonably secure information about the Cayuá past. Moreover, with the present culture for a control, a certain use can also be made of comparative material from the better known Coastal Tupi and other Tupi-Guarani peoples of the early contact period. Thus much peripheral information of an earlier date, information not by itself acceptable in reference to the Cayuá, can be turned to fair profit.

The present discussion of acculturation is confined mainly to salient aspects of change in technology, ecology, economy, and social organization, while practically no attention is given to religion. One reason for this limitation is the amount and type of field work. On the other hand, the implications of our data did not seem to lead necessarily to a study of change in the religious sphere. In other words, we were able to carry on our work in a satisfactory manner without devoting a great deal of attention to religion—although not denying that related changes probably exist in that sector.

One point of concentration of the present work is economic change, including the effect on a non-commercial economy of the inception and growth of

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

II. CAYUÁ CULTURE IN THE PAST

121 IN this account of Cayuá culture in the past, "the past" is taken as roughly the time of the European entry, before any considerable alien influence was felt by the Guarani-speakers of the Paraguayan area. The description is partly based on comparative material, that is, contemporary accounts of other Guarani groups; there is no extensive contemporary account of the Cayuá but only random references to them or to peoples who might be Cayuá. It is almost certain, too, that the term "Cayuá" (or its equivalents) was not being widely applied in the early colonial period to the forebears of the people in question.

• 127 121 The present description also depends in part on a few, brief, later accounts, Rengger,[33] at the beginning of the 19th century, and von Koenigswald,[34] Sampaio,[35] and Ambrosetti[36] at the turn of the century. Müller[37] and Strelnikov,[38] whose work was done in the early 20th century, are also of some help in reconstruction. Rengger, in particular, and von Koenigswald and Sampaio to a lesser extent, all bear out the contention of great basic similarity between the Cayuá people and their Guarani-speaking neighbors. This certainly puts us on safer ground as far as being able to use comparative material for reconstructing Cayuá culture. It is possible to pick up an early account, even of the coastal Tupi of Brazil, and go down the list of cultural elements, checking off the majority which appear to have been in a general sense common among Cayuá. In the opinion of the writer, due caution has been exercised where aspects of Cayuá aboriginal culture were probably similar to other Tupi-Guarani cultures but where we do not have sufficient material to judge with finality.

ECONOMY

174* 241 433 The Cayuá, like their relatives, were primarily agricultural people, as early as we have any information about them. They practiced much the same type of tropical forest agriculture as the Tupinambá groups of the Brazilian coast and must have been nearly identical in agriculture with their Guarani neighbors in Paraguay. Métraux has argued that the agriculture of the Tupi-Guarani peoples in the Paraguay region was somewhat different, as to the importance of the various plants basic to it, from that of the more northerly tribes near the equator.[39] It has been said, for instance, that corn was more important to the southern groups and manioc to the northern groups, because of environmental differences. However, such differences in agriculture were usually of degree, though perhaps significant. Manioc was, from every

174* 243 244 433 184

[33] Rengger, 1835. [34] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [35] Sampaio, 1900.
[36] Ambrosetti, 1894 [37] Müller, 1934-35.
[38] Strelnikov, 1928. [39] Métraux, 1928, pp. 65 ff.; p. 102.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

657 them. Some of the older Cayuá say they remember an individual they called "General" who allegedly established for them a much larger territory, which, however, was not apparently surveyed.[18] The present *reservas* of the Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso were probably established not more than 20 or 30 years ago, and any close supervision of them by the S. P. I. is, in most cases, still more recent.[19] The *posto* from which Taquapiry affairs are "supervised" dates only from the 30's, and the supervision is virtually nominal inasmuch as the officer in charge does not seem to visit the place more than three or four times a year.

182 648 433 The expanding white frontier resulted in a limitation of the former territories as well as (in effect somewhat the same thing) a limitation of traditional Cayuá mobility. We shall see that this restriction of territory and mobility inhibited Cayuá economic development in one direction, gradually at first, but finally almost completely: the Cayuá sooner or later found it impossible to live principally by hunting and fishing, with only a supplementary agriculture.

The Question of Cayuá Canoeing

501 178 484 Unless we admit the possibility that there may have been both canoe and non-canoe Cayuá, or at least some differences between Cayuá groups with regard to the extent of use of the canoe, we must be rather impressed by the short space of time which has elapsed since Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote, around the turn of the century, describing the development of canoe travel. Sampaio records that "the Cayuá are still excellent canoers and very able swimmers, performing veritable feats of skill in the turbulent currents of white-water rivers; they are consummate devotees of river travel."[20] And von Koenigswald writes: "Of the greatest importance to the Cayuá are their canoes... in which they make voyages lasting months.

[48] [175] [127]

[18] This would probably place the time of the first presumed limitation of territory at Taquapiry as about 1905.

[19] Facts and dates concerning the actual establishment of these *reservas* and the S. P. I. administration of them are probably available in the archives of the S. P. I. Unfortunately for the completeness of this paper, such information had not been received at the time of writing. The exact dates, however, are not of primary importance to the present theme.

[20] Sampaio, *op. cit.*, p. 41.